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THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY
of
ABRAHAM LINCOLN

New York
Francis D. Tandy Company
1905

Selected from "Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln." Copyright, 1894, by John G. Nicolay and John Hay

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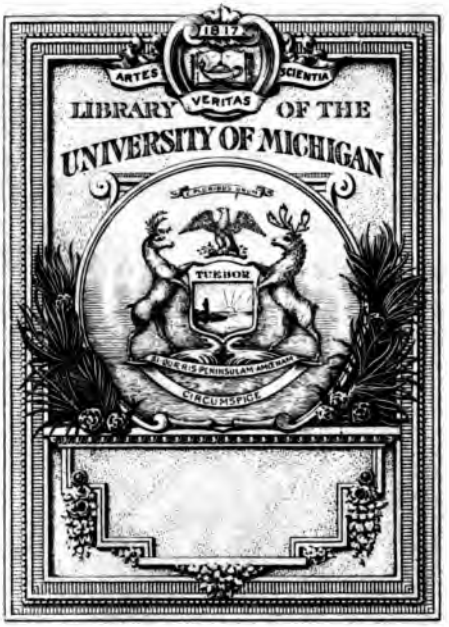
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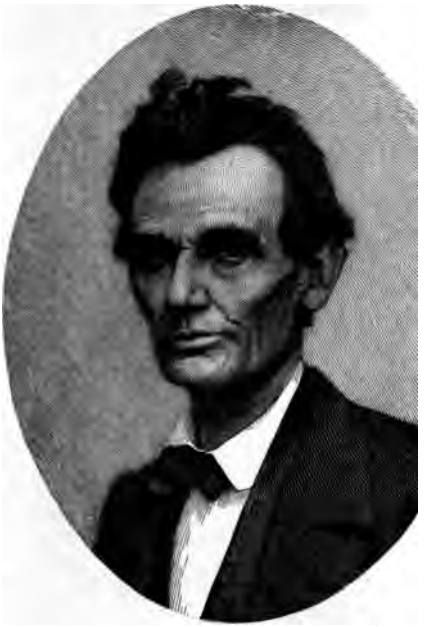
THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY
OF
ABRAHAM LINCOLN

a wandering laboring-boy and grew up literally without education. He never did more in the way of writing than to bunglingly write his own name. Before he was grown he passed one year as a hired hand with his uncle Isaac on Watauga, a branch of the Holston River. Getting back into Kentucky, and having reached his twenty-eighth year, he married Nancy Hanks — mother of the present subject—in the year 1806. She also was born in Virginia; and relatives of hers of the name of Hanks, and of other names, now reside in Coles, in Macon, and in Adams counties, Illinois, and also in Iowa. The present subject has no brother or sister of the whole or half blood. He had a sister, older than him— who was grown and ma

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY
OF
ABRAHAM LINCOLN



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Wood engraving by Timothy Cole from an ambrotyp
for Marcus L. Ward in Springfield, Ill., May 2c
1860, two days after Lincoln's nom-
ination for President.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY
of
ABRAHAM LINCOLN

New York
Francis D. Tandy Company
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AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

were, by himself at New S
before mentioned. This w
July, 1831. Here he r
made acquaintances and fr
In less than a year Offutt'
ness was failing—had a
failed—when the Black
war of 1832 broke out.
ham joined a volunteer
pany, and, to his own su
was elected captain of it
says he has not since ha
success in life which gave l
much satisfaction. He w
the campaign, served near
months, met the ordinary
ships of such an expeditio
was in no battle. He now
in Iowa, the land upon
his own warrants for the s
were located. Returning
the campaign, and encou
by his great popularity a
his immediate neighbors,

me year ran for the legisla-
re, and was beaten—his own
ecinct, however, casting its
ɪtes 277 for and 7 against him
-and that, too, while he was an
owed Clay man, and the pre-
ıct the autumn afterwards giv-
g a majority of 115 to General
ckson over Mr. Clay. This
ıs the only time Abraham was
er beaten on a direct vote of
e people. He was now with-
ıt means and out of business,
ıt was anxious to remain with
s friends who had treated him
th so much generosity, espe-
ılly as he had nothing else-
ıere to go to. He studied
ıat he should do—thought of
ırning the blacksmith trade—
ought of trying to study law—
ther thought he could not suc-
ed at that without a better
ucation. Before long, strange-

ly enough, a man offered
and did sell, to Abraha
another as poor as hims
old stock of goods, upon
They opened as merchan
he says that was *the* stor
course they did nothing b
deeper and deeper in deb
was appointed postmas
New Salem—the office be
insignificant to make his
an objection. The store
out. The surveyor of
mon offered to depute to
ham that portion of his
which was within his part
County. He accepted, pr
a compass and chain,
Flint and Gibson a littl
went at it. This pr
bread, and kept soul an
together. The election o
came, and he was then
to the legislature by the

vote cast for any candidate. Major John T. Stuart, then in full practice of the law, was also elected. During the canvass, in a private conversation he encouraged Abraham [to] study law. After the election he borrowed books of Stuart, took them home with him, and went at it in good earnest. He studied with nobody. He still mixed in the surveying to pay board and clothing bills. When the legislature met, the law-books were dropped, but were taken up again at the end of the session. He was reëlected in 1836, 1838, and 1840. In the autumn of 1836 he obtained a law license, and on April 15, 1837, removed to Springfield, and commenced the practice—his old friend Stuart taking him into partnership. March 3, 1837, by a pro-

test entered upon the " House Journal " of that pages 817 and 818, Al with Dan Stone, anothe sentative of Sangamon, defined his position on t ery question; and so fa goes, it was then the sa it is now. The protes follows:

" Resolutions upon the of domestic slavery passed both branches of t eral Assembly at its pres sion, the undersigned protest against the pas the same.

" They believe that tl tution of slavery is four both injustice and bad po that the promulgation o tion doctrines tends rath crease than abate its evi

"They believe that the Congress of the United States has no power under the Constitution to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different States.

"They believe that the Congress of the United States has the power, under the Constitution, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, but that the power ought not to be exercised unless at the request of the people of the District.

"The difference between these opinions and those contained in the above resolutions is their reason for entering this protest.

"DAN STONE,
"A. LINCOLN,
"Representatives from the County of Sangamon."

In 1838 and 1840, Mr. Lincoln's party voted for him as

Speaker, but being in th
ity he was not elected.
1840 he declined a reële
the legislature. He wa
Harrison electoral ticket i
and on that of Clay in 18
spent much time and l
both those canvasses.
vember, 1842, he was ma
Mary, daughter of Ro
Todd, of Lexington, Ke
They have three living ch
all sons, one born in 1843,
in 1850, and one in 1853.
lost one, who was born in 1

In 1846 he was elected to
lower House of Congress,
served one term only, comm
ing in December, 1847, and
ing with the inauguration
General Taylor, in March, 1
All the battles of the Mex
war had been fought before
Lincoln took his seat in (

ss, but the American army
s still in Mexico, and the
aty of peace was not fully and
mally ratified till the June
erwards. Much has been said
his course in Congress in re-
d to this war. A careful ex-
ination of the " Journal " and
ongressional Globe " shows
t he voted for all the supply
asures that came up, and for
the measures in any way fa-
able to the officers, soldiers,
l their families, who con-
ted the war through: with the
eption that some of these
asures passed without yeas
l nays, leaving no record as
how particular men voted.
e " Journal " and " Globe "
) show him voting that the
r was unnecessarily and un-
stitutionally begun by the
sident of the United States.

This is the language of Ashmun's amendment, for Mr. Lincoln and nearly or all other Whigs of the Ho Representatives voted.

Mr. Lincoln's reasons f opinion expressed by this were briefly that the Pre had sent General Taylor ir inhabited part of the cc belonging to Mexico, and t the United States, and th had provoked the first a hostility, in fact the comn ment of the war; that the being the country borderi the east bank of the Rio Gr was inhabited by native cans born there under the can Government, and had submitted to, nor been quered by, Texas or the U States, nor transferred to by treaty; that although

Maimed the Rio Grande as her boundary, Mexico had never recognized it, and neither Texas or the United States had ever enforced it; that there was a broad desert between that and the country over which Texas had actual control; that the country where hostilities commenced, having once belonged to Mexico, must remain so until it was somehow legally transferred, which had never been done.

Mr. Lincoln thought the act of sending an armed force among the Mexicans was unnecessary, inasmuch as Mexico was in no way molesting or menacing the United States or the people thereof; and that it was unconstitutional, because the power of levying war is vested in Congress, and not in the President. He thought the principal motive

for the act was to divert p
attention from the surrend
" Fifty-four, forty, or fight
Great Britain, on the Or
boundary question.

Mr. Lincoln was not a
didate for reëlection. This
determined upon and decl
before he went to Washin
in accordance with an u
standing among Whig fri
by which Colonel Hardin
Colonel Baker had each
viously served a single ter
this same district.

In 1848, during his ter
Congress, he advocated Ge
Taylor's nomination for
presidency, in opposition t
others, and also took an
part for his election aft
nomination, speaking a
times in Maryland, near
ington, several times in

ıusetts, and canvassing quite ılly his own district in Illinois, hich was followed by a majory in the district of over fifteen ındred for General Taylor.

Upon his return from Conress he went to the practice of ıe law with greater earnestness ıan ever before. In 1852 he as upon the Scott electoral ticet, and did something in the ay of canvassing, but owing to ıe hopelessness of the cause in linois he did less than in preous presidential canvasses.

In 1854 his profession had alost superseded the thought of ɔlitics in his mind, when the peal of the Missouri Comomise aroused him as he had ver been before.

In the autumn of that year he ok the stump with no broader actical aim or object than to

secure, if possible, the
of Hon. Richard Yate
gress. His speeches a
tracted a more marked
than they had ever be
As the canvass proceed
drawn to different pa
State outside of Mr. Y
trict. He did not ab
law, but gave his att
turns to that and poli
State agricultural fai
Springfield that year, a
las was announced
there.

In the canvass of
Lincoln made over fifty
no one of which, so
remembers, was put
One of them was ma
lena, but Mr. Lincoln
ollection of any part o
printed; nor does he
whether in that speec

ything about a Supreme Court
cision. He may have spoken
on that subject, and some of
: newspapers may have re-
rted him as saying what is
w ascribed to him; but he
nks he could not have ex-
:ssed himself as represented.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL MEMORANDUM GIVEN TO THE A. HICKS, JUNE 14, 1860.

I was born February 1809, in then Hardin Co Kentucky, at a point withi now county of La Rue, a or a mile and a half, from v Hodgen's mill now is. parents being dead, and my memory not serving, I kno means of identifying the p locality. It was on Nolin C

A. LINCOI

JUNE 14, 1860.

Autobiographical Sketch Written for Jesse W. Fell, December 20, 1859.

Springfield, Dec. 20, 1859.

J. W. Fell, Esq.

My dear Sir: Herewith is a little sketch, as you requested. There is not much of it, for the reason, I suppose, that there is not much of me. If anything be made out of it, I wish it to be modest, and not to go beyond the material. If it were thought necessary to incorporate anything from any of my speeches, I suppose there would be no objection. Of course it must not appear to have been written by myself.

Yours very truly,

A. Lincoln.

I was born February
1809, in Hardin County,
tucky. My parents were
born in Virginia, of und
guished families—second
lies, perhaps I should say.
mother, who died in my
year, was of a family o
name of Hanks, some of v
now reside in Adams, and c
in Macon County, Illinois.
paternal grandfather, Abr
Lincoln, emigrated from
ingham County, Virginia
Kentucky about 1781 or
where a year or two later h
killed by the Indians, not ir
tle, but by stealth, when h
laboring to open a farm i
forest. His ancestors, who
Quakers, went to Virginia
Berks County, Pennsylv
An effort to identify them
the New England family c

same name ended in nothing more definite than a similarity of Christian names in both families, such as Enoch, Levi, Mordecai, Solomon; Abraham, and the like.

My father, at the death of his father, was but six years of age, and he grew up literally without education. He removed from Kentucky to what is now Spencer County, Indiana, in my eighth year. We reached our new home about the time the State came into the Union. It was a wild region, with many bears and other wild animals still in the woods. There I grew up. There were some schools, so called, but no qualification was ever required of a teacher beyond "readin', writin', and cipherin'" to the rule of three. If a straggler supposed to un-

derstand Latin happened to s
journ in the neighborhood, h
was looked upon as a wizar
There was absolutely nothing t
excite ambition for educatio
Of course, when I came of a
I did not know much. Sti
somehow, I could read, wri
and cipher to the rule of thr
but that was all. I have n
been to school since. The lit
advance I now have upon th
store of education, I have picke
up from time to time under th
pressure of necessity.

I was raised to farm worl
which I continued till I w
twenty-two. At twenty-one
came to Illinois, Macon Count
Then I got to New Salem, a
that time in Sangamon, now i
Menard County, where I r
mained a year as a sort of cler
in a store. Then came th

to s
d, h
izar
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atio
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the

Black Hawk war; and I was lected a captain of volunteers, a ccess which gave me more easure than any I have had nce. I went the campaign, as elated, ran for the legisla- re the same year (1832), and as beaten—the only time I ever ave been beaten by the people. The next and three succeeding biennial elections I was elected o the legislature. I was not a candidate afterwards. During his legislative period I had studied law, and removed to Springfield to practice it. In 1846 I was once elected to the lower House of Congress. Was not a candidate for reëlection. From 1849 to 1854, both inclusive, practiced law more assiduously than ever before. Always a Whig in politics; and generally on the Whig electoral

tickets, making active canvass
I was losing interest in politi
when the repeal of the Missou
Compromise aroused me agai
What I have done since then
pretty well known.

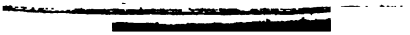
If any personal description
me is thought desirable, it m
be said I am, in height, six fe
four inches, nearly; lean in fles
weighing on an average one hu
dred and eighty pounds; da
complexion, with coarse bla
hair and gray eyes. No oth
marks or brands recollected.

Yours truly,

A. LINCOLN.

HON. J. W. FELL.

SPEECH AT SPRINGFIELD



THE "HOUSE DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF" SPEECH,[1] AT SPRINGFIELD, JUNE 16, 1858.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do, and how to do it. We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that pol-

[1] The above speech was delivered at Springfield, at the close of the Republican State Convention held at that time and place, and by which Convention Mr. Lincoln had been named as their candidate for United States Senator. Mr. Douglas was not present.

icy, that agitation has not
not ceased, but has const
augmented. In my opinio
will not cease until a crisis
have been reached and pa
"A house divided against i
cannot stand." I believe
Government cannot endure
manently half slave and
free. I do not expect the U
to be dissolved; I do not e
the house to fall; but I do e
it will cease to be divided
will become all one thing, c
the other. Either the c
nents of slavery will arres
further spread of it, and pla
where the public mind shall
in the belief that it is the cc
of ultimate extinction; or it
vocates will push it forwar
it shall become alike law
all the States, old as well a
North as well as South.

Have we no tendency to the tter condition?

Let anyone who doubts carefully contemplate that now almost complete legal combination—piece of machinery, so to peak—compounded of the Nebraska doctrine and the Dred cott decision. Let him consider, not only what work the machinery is adapted to do, and ow well adapted; but also let im study the history of its construction, and trace if he can, or ather fail, if he can, to trace he evidences of design and concert of action among its chief rchitects from the beginning.

The new year of 1854 found lavery excluded from more than alf the States by State constitutions, and from most of the national territory by congressional prohibition. Four days

later commenced the *str*
which ended in repealing
congressional prohibition.
opened all the national ter
to slavery, and was the
point gained.

But, so far, Congress
had acted; and an indorse
by the people, real or appa
was indispensable, to save
point already gained and
chance for more.

This necessity had not
overlooked, but had been
vided for, as well as might
in the notable argument
"squatter sovereignty," ot
wise called "sacred right
self-government," which l
phrase, through expressive
the only rightful basis of
government, was so perve
in this attempted use of it a
amount to just this: That if

e man choose to enslave *other,* no *third* man shall be lowed to object. That argu-ent was incorporated into the ebraska bill itself, in the lan-iage which follows:

"It being the true intent and meaning this Act not to legislate slavery into any rritory or State, nor to exclude it there-m, but to leave the people thereof per-tly free to form and regulate their nestic institutions in their own way, sub-t only to the Constitution of the United tes."

Then opened the roar of loose clamation in favor of "squat-r sovereignty," and "sacred ght of self-government." But," said opposition mem-rs, "let us amend the bill so to expressly declare that the ople of the Territory may clude slavery." "Not we," id the friends of the measure,

and down they voted the
ment.

While the Nebraska
passing through Congres
case, involving the quest
negro's freedom, by re
his owner having vol
taken him first into a fr
and then into a Territ
ered by the congressior
hibition, and held him as
for a long time in each, w
ing through the Unitec
Circuit Court for the Di
Missouri; and both N
bill and lawsuit were br
a decision in the same m
May, 1854. The negr
was " Dred Scott," whi
now designates the
finally made in the case.
the then next President
tion, the law case came
was argued in, the S

Court of the United States; but the decision of it was deferred until after the election. Still, before the election, Senator Trumbull, on the floor of the Senate, requested the leading advocate of the Nebraska bill to state *his opinion* whether the people of a Territory can constitutionally exclude slavery from their limits; and the latter answered: "That is a question for the Supreme Court."

The election came. Mr. Buchanan was elected, and the ndorsement, such as it was, secured. That was the second point gained. The indorsement, however, fell short of a clear popular majority by nearly four hundred thousand votes, and so, perhaps, was not overwhelmingly reliable and satisfactory. The outgoing President,

in his last annual message, impressively as possible ech back upon the people the wei and authority of the indo ment. The Supreme Court r again; did not announce th decision, but ordered a argument. The presidential auguration came, and still decision of the court; but incoming President, in his in gural address, fervently horted the people to abide by forthcoming decision, whate it might be. Then, in a f days, came the decision.

The reputed author of Nebraska bill finds an early o sion to make a speech at capital indorsing the Dred S decision, and vehemently nouncing all opposition to The new President, too, sei the early occasion of the S

nan letter to indorse and trongly construe that decision, nd to express his astonishment hat any different view had ever een entertained!

At length a squabble springs p between the President and ıe author of the Nebraska bill ı the mere question of *fact*, hether the Lecompton consti- tion was or was not in any just nse made by the people of Kan- s; and in that quarrel the lat- r declares that all he wants is fair vote for the people, and at he cares not whether slavery : voted *down* or voted *up*. I) not understand his declara- ɔn, that he cares not whether avery be voted down or voted ɔ, to be intended by him other ıan as an apt definition of the olicy he would impress upon ıe public mind—the principle

for which he declares he has
fered so much, and is read
suffer to the end. And well m
he cling to that principle!
he has any parental feeling, w
may he cling to it. That pr
ciple is the only shred left
his original Nebraska doctri
Under the Dred Scott deci
" squatter sovereignty " squat
out of existence, tumbled do
like temporary scaffolding; li
the mold at the foundry, serv
through one blast, and fell ba
into loose sand; helped to ca
an election, and then was kick
to the winds. His late joi
struggle with the Republica
against the Lecompton con
tution, involves nothing of t
original Nebraska doctri
That struggle was made on
point—the right of a people
make their own constitution

. which he and the Repub-
s have never differed.
ıe several points of the Dred
: decision, in connection
Senator Douglas's "care-
' policy, constitute the piece
achinery, in its present state
dvancement. This was the
l point gained. The work-
points of that machinery

rst, That no negro slave,
ırted as such from Africa,
no descendant of such slave,
:ver be a citizen of any State,
e sense of that term as used
e Constitution of the United
:s. This point is made in
r to deprive the negro, in
y possible event, of the bene-
ɔf that provision of the
ted States Constitution
h declares that "The citi-
of each State shall be en-

titled to all the privilege
immunities of citizens ir
several States."

Secondly, That, "subje
the Constitution of the U
States," neither Congress
Territorial Legislature ca
clude slavery from any U
States Territory. This pc
made in order that indi
men may fill up the Terri
with slaves, without dang
losing them as property,
thus enhance the chance
permanency to the insti
through all the future.

Thirdly, That whethe
holding a negro in actual sl
in a free State, makes him
as against the holder, the U
States courts will not decid
will leave to be decided b
courts of any slave Stat
negro may be forced into t

master. This point is made, not to be pressed immediately; but, if acquiesced in for a while, and apparently indorsed by the people at an election, then to sustain the logical conclusion that what Dred Scott's master might lawfully do with Dred Scott in the free State of Illinois, every other master might lawfully do with any other one, or one thousand slaves, in Illinois, or in any other free State.

Auxiliary to all this, and working hand-in-hand with it, the Nebraska doctrine, or what is left of it, is to educate and mold public opinion, at least Northern public opinion, not to care whether slavery is voted down or voted up. This shows exactly where we now are; and partially, also, whither we are tending.

It will throw additional
on the latter to go back an
the mind over the strin
historical facts already s
Several things will now a
less dark and mysterious
they did when they were
piring. The people were
left "perfectly free," "s
only to the Constitution."
the Constitution had to do
it, outsiders could not ther
Plainly enough now, it wa
exactly fitted niche, for the
Scott decision to afterwards
in, and declare the perfect
dom of the people to be ju
freedom at all. Why wa
amendment, expressly decl
the right of the people,
down? Plainly enough
the adoption of it would
spoiled the niche for the
Scott decision. Why was

ɔurt decision held up? Why ɔen a senator's individual opin-ɔn withheld till after the presi-ential election? Plainly enough ɔw, the speaking out then ould have damaged the "per-ctly free" argument upon hich the election was to be car-ed. Why the outgoing Presi-nt's felicitation on the indorse-ent? Why the delay of a re-gument? Why the incoming esident's advance exhortation favor of the decision? These ings look like the cautious pat-ıg and petting of a spirited ɔrse preparatory to mounting m, when it is dreaded that he ay give the rider a fall. And hy the hasty after-indorsement f the decision by the President nd others?

We cannot absolutely know ıat all these exact adaptations

are the result of preco
But when we see a lot of fr
timbers, different portion
which we know have been g
out at different times and p
and by different workm
Stephen, Franklin, Roger,
James, for instance,—and
we see these timbers jc
together, and see they ex
make the frame of a house
mill, all the tenons and mo
exactly fitting, and all the le
and proportions of the diff
pieces exactly adapted to
respective places, and nc
piece too many or too few,
omitting even scaffolding-
if a single piece be lacking
see the place in the frame ex
fitted and prepared yet to b
such piece in—in such case
find it impossible not to be
that Stephen and Franklin

ger and James all understood
: another from the beginning,
l all worked upon a common
n or draught drawn up before
first blow was struck.
:t should not be overlooked
t, by the Nebraska bill, the
ıple of a *State* as well as Ter-
ıry were to be left "perfect-
free," "subject only to the
ıstitution." Why mention a
te? They were legislating
Territories, and not for or
ıut States. Certainly the peo-
of a State are and ought to
subject to the Constitution of
United States; but why is
ıtion of this lugged into this
·ely territorial law? Why
the people of a Territory
l the people of a State therein
ıped together, and their rela-
ı to the Constitution therein
ıted as being precisely the

same? While the opinion of the court by Chief Justice Taney, in the Dred Scott case, and the separate opinions of the concurring judges, expressly declare that the Constitution of the United States neither permits Congress nor a territorial Legislature to exclude slavery from any United States Territory, they all omit to declare whether or not the same Constitution permits a State, or the people of a State, to exclude it. *Possibly* this is a mere omission; but who can be quite sure, if McLean or Curtis had sought to get into the opinion a declaration of unlimited power in the people of a State to exclude slavery from their limits, just as Chase and Mace sought to get such declaration, in behalf of the people of a Territory, into the Nebraska

bill—I ask, who can be quite sure that it would not have been voted down in one case as it had been in the other?

The nearest approach to the point of declaring the power of a State over slavery is made by Judge Nelson. He approaches it more than once, using the precise idea, and almost the language, too, of the Nebraska act. On one occasion, his exact language is: "Except in cases where the power is restrained by the Constitution of the United States, the law of the State is supreme over the subject of slavery within its jurisdiction." In what cases the power of the States is so restrained by the United States Constitution is left an open question, precisely as the same question, as to the restraint on the power of the

Territories, was left open in the Nebraska act. Put this and that together, and we have another nice little niche, which we may, ere long, see filled with another Supreme Court decision, declaring that the Constitution of the United States does not permit a *State* to exclude slavery from its limits. And this may especially be expected if the doctrine of "care not whether slavery be voted down or voted up" shall gain upon the public mind sufficiently to give promise that such a decision can be maintained when made.

Such a decision is all that slavery now lacks of being alike lawful in all the States. Welcome, or unwelcome, such decision is probably coming, and will soon be upon us, unless the power of the present political dynasty shall

be met and overthrown. We shall lie down pleasantly dreaming that the people of Missouri are on the verge of making their State free, and we shall awake to the reality instead that the Supreme Court has made Illinois a slave State. To meet and overthrow the power of that dynasty is the work now before all those who would prevent that consummation. That is what we have to do. How can we best do it?

There are those who denounce us openly to their own friends, and yet whisper us softly that Senator Douglas is the aptest instrument there is with which to effect that object. They wish us to *infer* all, from the fact that he now has a little quarrel with the present head of the dynasty, and that he has regularly voted

with us on a single point, *up*
which he and we have never d
fered. They remind us that
is a great man, and that the la
est of us are very small on
Let this be granted. But
living dog is better than a de
lion." Judge Douglas, if no
dead lion, for this work is
least a caged and toothless o
How can he oppose the advan
of slavery? He don't care a
thing about it. His avow
mission is impressing the "p
lic heart" to *care nothing ab*
it. A leading Douglas Den
cratic newspaper thinks Do
las's superior talent will
needed to resist the revival
the African slave-trade. D
Douglas believe an effort to
vive that trade is approachin
He has not said so. Does
really think so? But if it

how can he resist it? For years he has labored to prove it a sacred right of white men to take negro slaves into the new Territories. Can he possibly show that it is less a sacred right to buy them where they can be bought cheapest? And unquestionably they can be bought cheaper in Africa than in Virginia. He has done all in his power to reduce the whole question of slavery to one of a mere right of property; and, as such, how can he oppose the foreign slave-trade? How can he refuse that trade in that "property" shall be "perfectly free," unless he does it as a protection to the home production? And as the home producers will probably not ask the protection, he will be wholly without a ground of opposition.

Senator Douglas holds, we know, that a man may rightfully be wiser to-day than he was yesterday; that he may rightfully change when he finds himself wrong. But can we, for that reason, run ahead, and infer that he will make any particular change of which he himself has given no intimation? Can we safely base our action upon any such vague inference? Now, as ever, I wish not to misrepresent Judge Douglas's position, question his motives, or do aught that can be personally offensive to him. Whenever, if ever, he and we can come together on principle, so that our great cause may have assistance from his great ability, I hope to have interposed no adventitious obstacle. But clearly he is not now with us; he does not pretend

to be—he does not promise ever to be.

Our cause, then, must be entrusted to, and conducted by, its own undoubted friends—those whose hands are free, whose hearts are in the work, who *do care* for the result. Two years ago the Republicans of the nation mustered over thirteen hundred thousand strong. We did this under the single impulse of resistance to a common danger, with every external circumstance against us. Of strange, discordant, and even hostile elements, we gathered from the four winds, and formed and fought the battle through, under the constant hot fire of a disciplined, proud, and pampered enemy. Did we brave all then, to falter now—now, when that same enemy is wavering, dissevered, and bellig-

erent? The result is not doubtful. We shall not fail—if we stand firm, we *shall not fail.* Wise counsels may accelerate, or mistakes delay it; but, sooner or later, the victory is sure to come.

A Word About the Writings of Abraham Lincoln.

The contents of this little volume are selected from "The Complete Writings of Abraham Lincoln," edited by his private secretaries, John G. Nicolay and John Hay, a new and enlarged edition of which is now being issued by the publishers of this volume.

For nearly thirty years the editors were engaged in collecting and arranging the material for this work. President Lincoln encouraged and assisted them, giving them many of his most precious manuscripts with his own hands. The work was finally published at the special

request of Col. Robert T. Lincoln, and must ever remain the only authorized and standard collection of Lincoln's writings. The new and enlarged edition contains nearly twice as much material as did the first edition published some eleven years ago. This added material comprises everything of any historical or biographical value from the pen of Lincoln which has come to light during the last decade, also numerous biographical and explanatory notes, and special introductions to the various volumes. It will also contain a complete bibliography and a comprehensive index.

It will be artistically printed on a fine grade of paper, durably bound, and illustrated with upward of one hundred portraits of Lincoln, his generals, cabinet